

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBAN'S SCHOLARSHIP

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*



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Epilogue

This book has highlighted the position of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in the nexus of 12th/18th century Muslim religious scholarship, and by implication, his crucial role in shaping the intellectual development of the Malay people and their culture of Islamic learning. The preceding chapters discuss aspects of al-Falimbānī’s life and scholarship in his historical and cultural context. Here I attempt to highlight important findings and major contributions of this study.

Starting with the introduction, the study demonstrated the importance of two genres of primary Arabic sources for the eighteenth century Islamic scholarship of which al-Falimbānī was a student and teacher: biographical dictionaries and writings on *isnād* and *ijāzah*. It also shows that consulting the writings on *isnāds* can help us to understand better the teacher-student connections in the scholarly networks of the period under study as well as their connection to earlier and later scholars.

By reviewing the sources and contemporary studies relevant to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and his wider intellectual context, this research has shown that contemporary studies offer only limited information and less critical analysis on al-Falimbānī. With some later scholars accepting or compounding earlier errors, I have highlighted numerous sources so far unutilised or under-utilised and have attempted to reconstruct a more accurate biographical account of al-Falimbānī and his scholarly contacts bringing in new information and details based on fresh evidence extracted from these works. It should be emphasized that most of these sources, including al-Falimbānī’s own writings as well as other Arabic and Malay writings by his contemporaries and later generations, had not been included in previous studies.

In constructing a biographical outline of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s scholarly life, based on fresh evidence, I hope that this study has successfully resolved a number of issues and details related to the life of al-Falimbānī. These include the obscurity of al-Falimbānī’s pedigree and inconsistencies about his dates of birth and death, his offspring and travels. The fresh evidence extracted from primary sources, which

include mainly unpublished manuscripts and biographical reports by his contemporaries, has helped us to eliminate a number of erroneous conclusions from previous studies. The discussion of his travels also helped us to chart his movements in the Malay Archipelago and the Arab world, further supporting the evidence of his significant scholarship and scholarly contacts in different centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world. By attempting to shed light on his character and distinctive personality as a scholar and *Ṣūfī*, this study has highlighted his revered position among his peers, pupils and contemporaries, both *Jāwīs* and Arabs.

‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s teachers and students have turned out to be more numerous, and a number of them more prominent than hitherto assumed by earlier studies. Based on the domicile of his teachers, it has been possible not only to confirm, but also to go beyond Yāsīn al-Fādānī’s reports that al-Falimbānī travelled to study in Yemen, Egypt and Syria in addition to his widely known sojourn in *al-Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina). From the study of his teachers, we can observe that although Muḥammad as-Sammān was al-Falimbānī’s most influential teacher, especially in his development as a *Ṣūfī* scholar, he had studied with several other scholars from different centres of Islamic learning covering specialities such as *ḥadīth*, Qur’ānic studies, theology, jurisprudence, grammar and other associated subjects. In other words, as-Sammān was his spiritual master while these others were his intellectual instructors.

Studying biographical notices on al-Falimbānī’s teachers often reveals clues to solving his undated meetings with them and dates of his travels to and sojourns in various centres. For instance, we now know that al-Falimbānī studied with as-Sammān for five years between 1181/1767 and 1186/1772. However, by establishing that al-Falimbānī travelled to Yemen as early as 1147/1734 and was present in Mecca before 1160/1747, a question can be asked as to why he did not study earlier with as-Sammān whom he venerated highly? To answer this, we look at as-Sammān’s several biographical notices. He was affiliated to several renowned *ṭarīqahs*, including al-Qādiriyyah, an-Naqshabandiyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-‘Ādiliyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah, but was mostly known for his affiliation with the al-Qādiriyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah Orders.

In fact, he was the founder of a branch of the latter Order, *aṭ-ṭarīqah al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah*, which was named after him. Though none of as-Sammān's biographers tell us when he received the initiation into the Khalwatiyyah Order from Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and became his *khalīfah*, it is clear that up to 1176/1762 he was initiating his disciples only to the Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. This is evident from 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī who received membership in the latter Order from as-Sammān during his *ḥajj* in that year, indicating that he was not yet a proponent of the Khalwatiyyah Order at that time. Otherwise, he would have initiated al-'Aqīlī into this Order; especially since he was the founder of a branch of this *ṭarīqah*. Thus, this perhaps explains why al-Falimbānī did not travel to Medina to study with as-Sammān earlier as he had not attained his apex of *Ṣūfī* mastery. This further finds support in the fact that it was under the guidance of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and with persistent training and solitude, that as-Sammān attained the state of illumination (*kashf*) and became his *khalīfah*.

In terms of mystical outlook, the majority – if not all of the scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came in contact, and other scholars of his period – were directly or indirectly affiliated to several or at least one particular *Ṣūfī* Order. It has become clear in this research that, although these scholars were *muḥaddiths* or jurists (*fuqahā'*) or scholars of exegesis (*tafsīr*) in terms of their study of Islamic intellectual sciences, they were in most cases also proponents of the *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* to the extent that they initiated others to membership in their Orders. Furthermore, al-Falimbānī specifically attended the teachings of renowned scholars of his time who were specialists in *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'ānic exegesis, grammar, lexicography or rhetoric. Several of these scholars, such as Yaḥyā al-Aḥdal, 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl al-Makkī, Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, were *muftīs* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Yemen, Mecca or Medina. Some of his teachers such as Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, Muḥammad al-Jawharī and 'Alī al-Wanā'ī were even his younger contemporaries who had attained eminence at an early stage of their career. It is important to point out that al-Falimbānī's adherence to the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence did not prevent him from attending teaching sessions of

Mālikī or Ḥanbalī or Ḥanafī scholars as demonstrated in his teachers' affiliations.

Al-Falimbānī's intellectual erudition becomes even more apparent in the study of biographical notices about his students. Not only had he attracted students of *Jāwī* origin, but also Arabs. Though, unfortunately, details of his individual Arab students are lacking, the account written by one of his closest Arab disciples in Yemen, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, clearly tells us that al-Falimbānī had a group of outstanding students (*ba'ḍ fuḍalā' at-ṭalabah*) attending his teaching sessions in Zabīd including this al-Ahdal who himself was a *muftī*. It is clear from the short biographical notice on al-Falimbānī in al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that he was one of his highly esteemed shaykhs.¹ Thus looking at the connections *Jāwīs* had with Yemeni scholars, it is appropriate to say that Yemeni sources should constitute part of the essential reference to any study on the *Jāwī* scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This study demonstrates that the extent and range of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's writings were much more substantial than existing contemporary studies would have us believe. This research has uncovered a total of twelve attributed writings to al-Falimbānī (instead of seven known so far) and has also questioned the attribution of two books and one which was inconclusive in status but can now be confirmed as the writing of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī.

Apart from solving the problem of attribution, this study has highlighted al-Falimbānī's scholarly contributions in various fields of learning and spirituality relating to the Malay socio-religious and intellectual milieu. I have shown that though contemporary scholars listed these writings, it is clear that they did not examine the texts thoroughly or not at all in some cases. For instance, I have demonstrated that his small epistle, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, has significant value as a source for charting the religious disagreement in the Malay Archipelago at that time concerning three distinct groups of those scholars from "the land below the wind" (*dibawah angin*) with whom al-Falimbānī disagreed. Furthermore, careful examination of his writings, such as *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, reveals that he was not just simply translating the works of al-Ghazālī. More importantly, he attempted to supplement them with his own additions and his reading in a wider range of other

sources. Al-Falimbānī deems these additions beneficial to those who do not understand Arabic, which certainly indicates his deep concern to educate the people of the Malay Archipelago. Otherwise, it would be unnecessary to translate any Arabic texts into Malay if they were solely intended for his *Jāwī* students in Mecca, as they would usually be quite capable of reading them without the translations.

Al-Falimbānī's deep concern regarding the mystical *Ṣūfī* teachings which had led astray some of the *Jāwīs* of the Malay Archipelago is also reflected in his selection of al-Ghazālī's writings. For instance, his list of *Ṣūfī* writings suitable for three levels of competence, presenting them to match different abilities, indicates that al-Falimbānī had reached his apex of *Ṣūfī* training and at the same time indirectly tells *Jāwī* learners which of these writings were to be read and which were to be reserved only for the adept (*muntahī*). Furthermore, if he had wished, al-Falimbānī could have easily translated any of the advanced *Ṣūfī* texts, but instead he selected two basic books of al-Ghazālī, the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and the Abridgement of (*Lubāb* or *Mukhtaṣar*) *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* to cater for the novice. In fact, al-Falimbānī himself demonstrated that he had attained the *Ṣūfī* mastery as he composed his *Zād al-Mutaqqīn*, a treatise in the most advanced category of mystical teaching, dealing with complex question of Oneness of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).

This research has also demonstrated that the newly identified writings of al-Falimbānī, include two epistles written specifically on *fiqh*; an epistle on the law of marriage and another on the exposition of legal rulings, in addition to diverse questions on jurisprudence (*masā'il fiqhiyyah*) in his other writings. Thus it is evident that despite being chiefly known as a *Ṣūfī* scholar on the basis of his acclaimed work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and his affiliation with the Sammāniyyah *ṭarīqah*, he was also a competent scholar of jurisprudence (*faqīh*).

Among the *Jāwī* scholars of his time, al-Falimbānī was one of those who not only had deep concern for the intellectual life of the Malay people, but also for the political situation of the Malay region. This can be confirmed from the two letters which he sent from Mecca to two Javanese princes reminding them of the merits of *jihād* and from two other epistles written on issues pertaining to *jihād*. This shows that al-Falimbānī was a scholar who was deeply concerned for his people

and homeland and was definitely not a hermit who isolated himself from his community.

Critical assessment of all al-Falimbānī's known writings has further added to our knowledge about his life, scholarship and his writings and teaching career and highlighted his contribution and role in the eighteenth century scholarly nexus. In addition, this study has now made it possible to chronologically list all of his writings.

It is important to highlight that this study – to my knowledge – is the first to have comprehensively utilised the widest possible range of sources available, including manuscripts, *Jāwī* books, Arabic biographical dictionaries and other relevant works. Utilising all these sources and materials has helped us place al-Falimbānī at the centre of the nexus of eighteenth century Muslim scholarship in the Arab and Malay worlds. In fact, looking at his intellectual scholarship, his distinguished career and the revered position he enjoyed in Mecca and Zabīd, al-Falimbānī was perhaps the most prominent among the *Jāwīs* who had achieved this status. It is hoped that this study will pave the way for further research on other *Jāwī* scholars from this period as well as from other generations.

Endnote

¹ See appendix 1.

Appendix 1

New Translation of al-Falimbānī's Biographical Notice

[Biography of Shaykh al-'Allāmah 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī *Raḥimahu Allāh* (God's Mercy be upon him)]

And among [the '*ulamā*' of this generation] is our shaykh, the great scholar (*al-'allāmah*), the saint (*al-walī*), the deeply understanding (*al-fahhāmah*), the pious (*at-taqī*) notable of Islam (*wajīh al-Islām*), 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī (God's Mercy be upon him). He arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791.

The above-mentioned [shaykh] was among those who applied their knowledge to their life (*al-'ulamā' al-'āmilīn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every branch of the Islamic sciences (*al-muntafi' in fī sā'ir al-'ulūm*). He studied with the scholars of his period, from among the people of *al-Ḥaramayn* such as ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs, ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād, ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah 'Aṭā' [Allāh] al-Miṣrī, ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Muḥammad al-Jawharī, and ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, and others. He then turned towards Ṣūfism and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching [al-Ghazālī's] *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. He began to enjoin people to occupy themselves with this book, glorify its significant and frequently highlights its virtues and benefits, [explaining that] the least of these benefits to those who occupy themselves with it and follow its teaching being that they discover their own faults, shortcomings and limitations. This would be a protection from conceit with the guidance of God Almighty.

Oh Lord, a servant's fault may be concealed
Veil with Your forbearance what emerges from his fault
He has come to You with no intercessor for his sins
So accept intercession for him now in his old age.

A group of scholars have preceded in giving commandment to peruse the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, and a certain Maghribī scholar has even composed a book filled with the virtues of the above mentioned work.

It is also related that there was one who occupied himself with this work perused a book entitled *Tanbīh al-Aḥyā' 'alā Aghālīṭ al-Iḥyā'* (Warning the Living About the Errors of the *Iḥyā'*) and turned towards studying it and by the time he completed he lost his sight. He wept profusely and prayed to God Almighty, and knew what had brought this [calamity] upon him. He then turned towards God Almighty in repentance, and God restored his sight. Shaykh Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī said: "the *Iḥyā'* is a cure against the poisons of heedlessness; it awakens the exoteric '*ulamā'*' and broadens the knowledge of the firmly established scholars."

When our above mentioned shaykh [al-Falimbānī] arrived in Zabīd, he continued to consistently urge [people] towards studying the above mentioned book. I read with him, praise be to God, from the beginning of each quarter of the book and asked him for an *ijāzah* to relate what is allowed to transmit and that is beneficial to know. He granted me a lengthy *ijāzah* which he wrote for me in his own noble handwriting. His method was that when a student came to him, he would ask him at length about his circumstances and once he realized that the student was consistent in a good trait, he would lengthen his praise on that trait, and he would expound on its rules and morals to increase the student adherence to it and ensure that he would be well informed with sufficient insight.

When I came to meet him, he always specified the ethics and manners of giving legal opinion (*fatwā*) and that a *muftī* ought to not be confined merely to the question being asked as this is not sufficient. For if he has knowledge of the situation [surrounding the questions] he must take it into consideration in his answer, as this has within it religious benefits that are known to the practitioner in this field.

[Our Shaykh] may God grant him mercy, did not see any value in this world, and his magnanimity and generosity are regarded as a wonder of wonders. One of his praiseworthy students [once] asked him for a book to get the blessing of it, [our Shaykh] admitted him to his private library and said, "with pleasure, please take from it whatever you like"

and he insisted on him to do so and the student took a number of precious books of great value.

This reminds me [the author] of something that Ibn al-Qayyim said in his *Sharḥ Manāzil as-Sā'irīn*, that Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah often said, "I have nothing, nothing comes from me, and with me is nothing," and he often recited these lines of poetry:

I am a mendicant and the father of mendicants,
And like this were my father and grandfather.

Another poet Ibn ar-Rūmī (may God's Mercy be upon him) said:

The generous say nothing to mention their giving on the day that
they give,
Had they mentioned it they would not contend.
Many are those one miserly though rich,
While others give even if they be in debt.

This is the way of the spiritual elite, as for the majority, they are the opposite, as the poet said:

Be careful with your silver and gold coins
And you will avoid poverty and debt
The strength of the eye is in its pupil
And the strength of human beings is in owing gold.

[Our] above mentioned [shaykh] took the path of [Ṣūfī] *dhikr* from his shaykh, the great saint Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī. He was a close disciple of him for a considerable time and took the *ṭarīqah* from him, as the latter had taken it from the famous Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. As-Sammān and al-Ḥifnāwī both had the same shaykh and their way is to pronounce the *dhikr* aloud and to have a gathering for its recitation.

It is clear that pronouncing the *dhikr* aloud is neither forbidden nor discouraged, as its detractors would have it. For a group of scholars including al-Jalāl as-Suyūṭī and al-'Allāmah al-Kattānī have written at length about this. So has Shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī who wrote a great treatise on the evidence for recitation aloud (*jahr*),¹ in which he says among other things:

Guidance and reminder.

"If you say that God says, "*call on your Lord humbly and secretly. He certainly does not like the aggressors*" (Qur'ān 7: 55), and if the word *al-i'tidā'* (exceeding) is interpreted in the sense of pronouncing aloud in supplication, as related by Ibn Abī Hātim who related it from Zayd b. Aslam, then *al-jahr* is discouraged. However, I say the word *at-taḍarru'* (supplication) in this verse has also been interpreted to mean 'overtness' and *al-khufyah* [has been interpreted as] 'secretly' as related by Abū ash-Shaykh from Qatādah. If we interpret '*al-i'tidā' fī 'd-du'ā*' (exceeding during prayer) as *jahr* (pronouncing aloud) then what is intended is raising one's voice more than what is necessary and not mere *jahr* or pronouncing, hence applying the evidence altogether. This is what al-Ḥāfiẓ [Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī] interprets in his *al-Fath* when he explains that '*al-i'tidā' fī 'd-du'ā*' lies in the increase of one's voice louder than what is necessary."

Shaykh Ibrāhīm continues to say:

"And this is clearly indicated in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, as reported in the two sound collections (*as-ṣaḥīḥayn*) and elsewhere, and the exact texts is of al-Bukhārī in [the chapter on] *jihād*. [Abū Mūsā] said: we were with the Prophet SAW and whenever we approached a valley we would utter the *tahlīl* (acclamation of there is no deity worthy of worship but God) and *takbīr* (exclaiming God is great), raising our voices, and the Prophet SAW would said, "Oh people, stay your voices" ... to the end of the *ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥāfiẓ says that "*irba'ū* has the meaning of raising one's voice but without straining." This concludes the quotation [from al-Ḥāfiẓ]. The Prophet SAW exhorted them for moderation to abandon the practice of extreme shouting, but not to abandon *jahr* (pronouncing) totally, hence applying the evidence altogether. Therefore it is clear that what is meant by *jahr* from the verse "*And remember your Lord within yourself, in humility and awe and without raising your voice*" (Qur'ān 7: 206) is intense shouting and not mere pronouncing, thus combining the verse and the sound *ḥadīths* that indicate the legality of *jahr* in the recitation of *dhikr* and its recommendation ... etc ..."

Furthermore, Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān was one of the great scholars who had written many works, mostly on Ṣūfism. Some of his students wrote a detailed monograph devoted to his biography in which he relates that the Gnostic (*al-ʿārif*) ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ash-Shaʿrānī have mentioned him among the future saints and quoted his statement. Concerning this work of ash-Shaʿrānī, my teacher and master al-ʿAllāmah ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī told me that he came upon it in Mecca and examined it, finding in it a number of later saints after ash-Shaʿrānī's time from among the people of Yemen and others who are written about in this book. [Al-Jarhazī] said: "it was an astonishing coincidence that when I finished examining this book, I went out to perform the *ṭawāf* (circumambulation round the Kaʿbah) and I saw a man fitting the description of a man written about by ash-Shaʿrānī whose name was ʿAbd al-Ghaḥfār. When we finished from the *ṭawāf*, I greeted him and respectfully asked him his name. He responded: ʿAbd al-Ghaḥfār. I asked him about himself and I found everything he said to be exactly as ash-Shaʿrānī had mentioned in his book without the slightest difference; and I said to myself, "Praise be to God, The Opener and The Granter." The Gnostic of God (*al-ʿārif bi-Allāh*) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī also wrote a similar treatise which he called *al-Luʿluʿ al-Maknūn fī ʿsh-Shawāhid as-Samʿiyyah ʿalā ʿl-Ikhhār bimā Sayakūn* (The Hidden Pearls on Narrated Evidence for Telling about what will be).

Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm as-Sammān's teachers, other than the great Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, include Shaykh Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq, Sayyid ʿAli al-ʿAṭṭār, Shaykh ʿAli al-Kurdī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī who settled in Mecca, and Shaykh Saʿīd Hilāl al-Makkī, all of them having their *isnāds* extending back to an-Nakhli and al-Baṣrī.²

The following is the original Arabic text of al-Falimbānī's biographical data written by his close follower.

[ترجمة الشيخ العلامة عبد الصمد بن عبد الرحمن الجاوي رحمه الله:]

ومنهم شيخنا العلامة الولي الفهامة التقى وجهه الإسلام عبد الصمد بن عبد الرحمن الجاوي رحمه الله، وقد وفد إلى مدينة (زبيد) سنة ألف ومائتين وست، كان المذكور من العلماء العاملين ومن المنتفعين في سائر العلوم، أخذ عن عدة من علماء عصره من أهل

الحرمين الشريفين كالشيخ العلامة إبراهيم الرئيس، والشيخ العلامة محمد مرداد، والشيخ العلامة عطاء المصري، والشيخ العلامة محمد الجوهري، والشيخ العلامة محمد بن سليمان الكردي، وغيرهم، ثم أقبل على التصوف، وكان جل اشتغاله من كتبه بإحياء علوم الدين درساً وتدريساً، وصار يدعو الناس إلى الاشتغال به ويعظم شأنه ويكثر من ذكر فضائله وفوائده، وإن من أفلها أن ينكشف للمشتغل به والمقبل عليه عيوب نفسه ونقصها وتقصيرها، ويكون ذلك بعد توفيق الله عز وجل عاصماً له عن الغرور.

يا رب إن العبد يخفى عيبه فاستر بحلمك ما بدا من عيبه
ولقد أتاك وما له من شافعٍ لذنوبه فاقبل شفاعة شبيهه

ولقد سبق بالوصية بمطالعة إحياء علوم الدين جماعة من أهل العلم حتى أن بعض علماء المغاربة ألف كتاباً حافلاً في فضائل الكتاب المذكور.

ومما يحكى أن رجلاً من المشتغلين به اطلع على كتاب (تنبيه الأحياء على أغاليط الإحياء) فأقبل على مطالعته فما أتمه إلا وقد ذهب بصره، فأكثر من البكاء والتضرع إلى الله عز وجل وعرف من أين أتى، فتأب إلى الله عز وجل فرد الله عليه بصره. قال الشيخ حسين بن عبد الله الحضرمي (إحياء علوم الدين) يداوي من سموم الغفلة، ويوقظ علماء الظاهر ويوسع للعلماء الراسخين علمهم.

ولما وصل المذكور إلى زبيد، ما زال يكثر من الحث على الإقبال على الكتاب المذكور، وقد قرأت عليه والله الحمد من أوائل كل ربيع منه، وطلبت منه الإجازة فيه وفيما تجوز روايته وتنفع درايته، فأجازني وكتب لي بخطه الشريف إجازة مطولة، وكان من طريقته إذا وصل إليه الطالب، يسأله عن تفصيل حاله، فإذا عرف ملازمته خُصلة خير، أطال المقال في مدحها وشرح له من أحكامها وآدابها ليزداد ملازمة لها، ويكون على بصيرة من أمره.

ولما وصلت إليه لم يزل يقرر لي آداب الفتوى، وأن المفتي ينبغي له أن لا يقتصر على مجرد السؤال، بل إذا كان له إلمام بالواقعة لاحظها في جوابه، فإن في ضمن ذلك مصالح دينية يعرفها الممارس في هذا الشأن، وكان رحمه الله لا يرى للدنيا قدراً، اتصف من سماحة نفسه وبذل ما أمكن له بذله بالعجب العجائب، فلقد سأله بعض فضلاء الطلبة

Appendix I

كتاباً يترك به، فأدخله إلى خزانة كتبه وقال: خذ منها من طيبة نفسي ما شئت وألزمه بذلك، فأخذ عدة كتب نفيسة ذات ألحان غالية. ولقد أذكرني هذا ما ذكره ابن القيم في (شرح منازل السائرين) قال: كان شيخ الإسلام ابن تيمية كثيراً ما يقول: مالي شيء ولا مني شيء ولا عندي شيء. وكان كثيراً يتمثل بهذا البيت:

أنا المكدي وأبو المكدي وهكذا كان أبي وجدي

غيره وهو ابن الرومي رحمه الله،

المنعمون وما متوا على أحد يوم العطاء ولو متوا لما عانوا
كم ضن بالمال أقوام وعندهم وفر ومعطي العطايا وهو يدان

فهذه طريقة الخواص، وأما الجمهور فيخالف ذلك، قال الشاعر:

اشفق على الدرهم والعين تسلم من العيلة والدين
فقوة العين بإنسانها وقوة الإنسان بالعين

أخذ المذكور طريقة الذكر عن شيخه الولي الكبير محمد بن عبد الكريم السمان المدني، فإنه لازمه كثيراً وأخذ عنه الطريقة كما أخذها عن الشيخ الشهير مصطفى البكري، فالسمان والحفاوي شيخهما واحد، ومن طريقتهما الجهر بالذكر والاجتماع عليه.

وغير خاف أن الجهر بالذكر ليس بحرام ولا مكروه كما زعم زاعمون، وقد ألف في أدلة مشروعية الجهر بالذكر جماعة من العلماء، منهم الجلال السيوطي والعلامة الكتاني، وأطالا الكلام في ذلك. ومنهم الشيخ ملا إبراهيم الكوراني، فله في أدلة الجهر رسالة عظيمة، ومما ذكر فيها ما نصه:

تبصرة، فإن قلت قد قال تعالى: ﴿ادْعُوا رَبَّكُمْ قَضَعُوا حُفَّتَهُ لَأَن تُجِبَ الْمُعْتَدِينَ﴾ [الأعراف 55] فسر الاعتداء بالجهر بالدعاء، كما رواه ابن أبي حاتم عن زيد بن أسلم، فيكون الجهر مكروهاً. قلت قد فسر أيضاً التضرع في الآية بالعلانية والخصفية بالسر كما رواه أبو الشيخ عن قتادة، فالاعتداء في الدعاء إذا فسر بالجهر يراد به رفع الصوت الزائد³ على قدر الحاجة لا

مطلق الجهر جمعاً بين الأدلة، وبذلك فسرهُ الحافظ في الفتح حيث قال: الاعتداء في الدعاء يقع بزيادة الرفع فوق الحاجة.

إلى أن قال الشيخ إبراهيم المذكور: ويدل لذلك صريحاً حديث أبي موسى الأشعري رضي الله عنه في الصحيحين وغيرهما، واللفظ للبخاري، في الجهاد، قال: كنا مع رسول الله ﷺ فكانا إذا أشرَفنا على واد هَلَلنا وكبرنا، ارتفعت أصواتنا، فقال النبي ﷺ: أيها الناس اربعوا على أنفسكم... الحديث. قال الحافظ اربعوا بهمة وصل مكسورة، ثم موحدة مفتوحة، أي ارفعوا ولا تجهلوا أنفسكم، انتهى. فإنه ﷺ إنما أمرهم بالرفق، وهو إنما يقتضي ترك المفرط لا ترك أصل الجهر جمعاً بين الأدلة، ومنه يظهر أن المراد بالجهر في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَأَذْكُرْ لِلَّذِينَ فِي نَفْسِكَ تَضَرُّعًا وَخِيفَةً وَدُونَ الْجَهْرِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ بِالْغُدُوِّ وَالْآصَالِ وَلَا تَكُنْ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ﴾ [الأعراف 205] أيضاً هو الصياح البالغ لا مطلق الجهر جمعاً بينه وبين الأحاديث الصحيحة الدالة على مشروعية الجهر بالقول في الذكر واستحبابه، إلى آخر كلامه.

هذا، والشيخ محمد السمان كان من أكابر العلماء، وله مؤلفات غالبها في علم التصوف، وقد أفرد بعض تلامذته ترجمته بمؤلف حافل ونقل فيها أن العارف عبد الوهاب الشعراني ترجمه في الأولياء الذين سيأتون بعده وساق عبارته، وهذا المؤلف للشعراني ذكر لي سيدي العلامة عبد الله بن سليمان الجرهمي أنه وقف عليه بمكة المشرفة وطالعه ووجد فيه عدة من الأولياء المتأخرين من بعد الشعراني من أهل اليمن وغيرهم ترجم لهم في هذا الكتاب. قال: ومن عجيب الاتفاق إني لما فرغت من مطالعته خرجت للطواف فرأيت في المطاف رجلاً حلته حلية رجل ترجم له الشعراني، وقال إن اسمه عبد الغفار، فلما فرغنا من الطواف سلمت عليه وقلت له مولانا ما اسمك؟ قال: عبد الغفار، فتعرفت أحواله فإذا هي الأحوال التي ذكرها الشعراني⁴ سواء بسواء، فسبحان الفاتح المانع. وقد ألف الشيخ العارف بالله عبد الغني النابلسي رسالة سماها (المؤلؤ المكنون في الشواهد السمعية على الإخبار بما سيكون).

هذا، ومن مشايخ الشيخ محمد بن عبد الكريم السمان المذكور غير الشيخ الكبير مصطفى البكري جماعة، منهم الشيخ محمد الدقاق، والسيد علي العطار، والشيخ علي الكردي، والشيخ عبد الوهاب الطنطاوي نزيل مكة المكرمة، والشيخ سعيد هلال المكي، وأسائدهم تتصل بالنخلي والبصري.

Endnotes

- ¹ This text is entitled *al-Jawābāt al-Gharāwiyyah 'an 'l-Masā'il al-Jāwiyyah al-Jahriyyah*. See al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 35; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 10.
- ² al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 138-43.
- ³ في الأصل: الزايد
- ⁴ في الأصل: الشعراوي

Appendix 2

Islamic scholarly texts that al-Falimbānī studied with his teachers extracted from al-Fādānī's *isnād* writings.

1. [Yahyā al-Ahdal] *Bulūgh al-Marām* and all the works of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar.
2. [ʿĀqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī]: *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Muwaṭṭaʿ al-Imām Mālik*, *Musnad ash-Shāfiʿī*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, *Musnad ad-Dārimī*, *Sunan ad-Dāraquṭnī*, *al-Jāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (and all the works of as-Suyūṭī), *Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (and all the works of al-Manāwī), *Sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn an-Nawawīyah* (and all the works of ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Sharḥ Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* (and all the works of Ibn ʿAlān), *ash-Shifāʾ* (al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ), *ash-Shamāʾ il Li ʿt-Tirmidhī*, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, *Lubāb at-Taʾwīl fī Maʿānī at-Tanzīl* (al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* (and all the works of Ibn Kathīr), *Madārik at-Tanzīl* (Abū al-Barakāt an-Nasafī and all of his works), *Anwār at-Tanzīl* (al-Bayḍāwī and all of his works), *al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān* (az-Zarkashī and all of his works), *at-Taqrīb wa ʿt-Taysīr* (an-Nawawī), *Nukhbat al-Fikr wa Sharḥuhā* (al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar), *al-Ibānah* (Abū Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī and all of his works), *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* (al-Māturīdī and all of his works), *al-Aqīdah at-Taḥāwīyah* (aṭ-Taḥāwī), *Sharḥ al-Aqāʾid an-Nasafīyah* (Saʿad at-Taftāzānī and all of his works), *al-Masāyirah* (ibn Himām and all of his works), *al-Masāmīrah Sharḥ al-Masāyirah* (al-Kamāl Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf and all of his works), *Dafʿa Shubḥat at-Tashbīh Bi-Akufat-Tanzīh* (Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī and all of his works), *Ummu al-Barāhīn* (Muḥammad as-Sanūsī and all of his works), *ar-Risālah* (ash-Shālīʿī), *al-Lumaʿ* (Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī), *al-Waraqāt* (Imām al-Ḥaramayn and all of his works), *Minḥāj al-Wuṣūl* (Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī), *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* (ʿAḍid ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī and all of his works), *Ḥāshiyah al-ʿAḍid Li-Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* (ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī), *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* (Tāj ad-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī), *al-Umm* (ash-Shāfiʿī),

al-Mukhtaṣar (Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl al-Muznī), *al-Muhaddhab* (Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī and all of his works), *al-Wajīz* (al-Ghazālī and all of his works), *al-Faṭḥ al-‘Azīz Sharḥ al-Wajīz* (Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm ar-Rāfi‘ī and all of his works), *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū’ Sharḥ al-Muhaddhab*, *al-Īdāḥ* (an-Nawawī and all of his works), *at-Tamhīd fī Takhrīj al-Furū’ ‘alā ‘l-Uṣūl* (al-Jamāl ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Asnawī), *Bahjat al-Ḥāwī* (‘Umar ibn al-Wardī al-Bakrī), *ar-Rawḍ Wa ‘l-Irshād* (Ismā‘īl al-Muqrī and all of his works), *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, *Ḥāshiat al-Īdāḥ* (ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj* (ash-Shams Muḥammad ar-Ramlī), *at-Taḥrīr*, *al-Manhaj*, *Sharḥumā*, *Sharḥ ar-Rawḍ wa ‘l-Bahjah* (Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī), *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah ‘Alā ‘l-Manhaj al-Qawīm* (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and all of his works), *Ṣafīyat az-Zubad* (ibn Raslān al-Maqdisī d. 849 and all of his works), *Sanad al-Fiqh ash-Shāfi‘ī*, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī), *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma‘ānī ‘Alā ‘l-Talkhīṣ*, *al-Muṭawwal* (Sa‘d ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī), *al-Aṭwal Sharḥ at-Talkhīṣ*, *Sharḥ al-Istī‘ārāt* (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Arbishāh), *Sharḥ ‘Uqūd al-Jumān* (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Murshidī), *Kitāb Sībawayh* (‘Amru b. ‘Uthmān), *al-‘Awā‘il al-Mānah* (Abū Bakr al-Jurjānī), *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal* (Jār Allāh Maḥmūd az-Zamakhsharī), *al-Kāfiyyah*, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyyah* (ibn al-Ḥājib), *al-Fawā‘id aḍ-Ḍiyā‘iyah Sharḥ al-Kāfiyyah* (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāmī), *Ḥāshiyah as-Siyalkūtī ‘Alā al-Jāmī* (‘Abd al-Ḥakīm as-Siyalkūtī), *al-Khulāṣat al-Alfiyyah fī ‘Ilm al-‘Arabiyyah*, *Tashīl al-Fawā‘id* (ibn Mālīk and all of his works), *Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī ‘Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk*, *Sharḥ at-Tawḍīḥ* (‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ashmūnī and all of his works), *Sharḥ al-Makūdī ‘Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk* (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī al-Makūdī), *Tawḍīḥ al-Maqāṣid Wa ‘l-Masālik ‘Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk* (Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Murādī), *Tawḍīḥ Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk*, *Mughnī al-Labīb ‘An Kutub al-‘Arabī* (al-Jamāl ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī), *at-Taḥrīḥ ‘Alā ‘l-Tawḍīḥ* (Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azhārī), *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, *Ham‘ al-Hawāmi‘*, *al-Iqtirāḥ*, *al-Ashbāḥ Wa ‘n-Naṣā‘ir an-Naḥwiyyah*, *al-Alghāz an-Naḥwiyyah* (as-Suyūṭī), *Milḥat al-I‘rāb*, *Sharḥ Milḥat al-I‘rāb* (al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī), *al-Ajrūmiyyah* (ibn Ājrūm aṣ-Ṣanhājī), *Mutammimat al-Ajrūmiyyah* (Barakāt b.

Muḥammad ar-Ru'aynī), *Sharḥ ash-Shawāhid* (al-Badr al-'Aynī), *ash-Shāfiyah* (ibn al-Ḥājib), *at-Taṣrīf al-Mashhūr Bi 'l-'Azī*, *Kitāb al-Hādī*, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Hādī fī 'Ilm aṣ-Ṣarf* ('Abd al-Wahhāb az-Zanjānī al-Khazraǧī and all of his works), *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Jawharī* (Abū Naṣr Ismā'īl al-Jawharī), *al-Qāmūs* (al-Fayrūzabādī and all of his works), *Lisān al-'Arab* (Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Izz al-Khazraǧī), *az-Zahr fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah wa-Anwā'uhā* (as-Suyūfī), *an-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (ibn al-Athīr), *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah* (Muḥyī ad-Dīn ibn 'Arabī), *at-Tadhkirah* (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurtubī).

3. [Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*.
4. [Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī]: *Sunan aṣ-Ṣughrā Li 'n-Nasā'ī*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Sharḥ ash-Shāfiyah* (Aḥmad al-Jārabardī).
5. ['Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Aqīl as-Saqqāf]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* (Muḥammad al-Farrā' al-Baghdādī and all of his works).
6. [Saykh b. Zayn Bā-'Abūd]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Ḥāshiyah Sharḥ al-Jāmi' alā 'l-Kāfiyah* ('Iṣām ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Arbashāh al-Isfirā'inī al-Makkī).
7. [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl]: *al-Arba'ūn*, *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn*, and all works of al-Imām Nawawī, *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*, and all works of al-Baghawī, *Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīthiyyah wa-Sharḥuhā*, and all works of az-Zayn al-'Irāqī, *al-'Aqā'id an-Nasafiyyah*, al-Āmidī's *al-Aḥkām*, *Muntahā al-Wuṣūl wa 'l-Amal* (Ibn Ḥājib and all of his works), *al-Farā'id al-Bahiyyah Manzūmiyyat al-Qawā'id al-Fihiyyah* (Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Aḥdal and all of his works), *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū' Sharḥ al-Muhaddhab*, *al-Idāḥ* (an-Nawawī and all of his works), *al-Qirā li-Qāsidī Ummu 'l-Qurā* (al-Muḥibb Aḥmad aṭ-Tabarī and all of his works), *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj* (Muḥammad ash-Sharbīnī and all of his works), *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* ('Abd Allāh bā Faḍl), *al-Manhaj al-Qawīm Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* (ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Sharḥ Ibn 'Aqīl 'alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, *al-Musā'id 'alā Tashīl al-Fawā'id* (ibn 'Aqīl al-Āmidī and all of his works), *Shudhūr ad-Dhahab*, *Qaṭr an-Nadā*, *Sharḥuhuma*, *Qawā'id al-F'rāb* (Jamāl ad-Dīn an-Naḥwī).

8. [Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Kharibtāwī]: *Sharḥ al-Muaṭṭa'*, *Hāshiyat at-Taṣrīḥ 'alā 'l-Tawḍīḥ*, and all works of Muḥammad az-Zurqānī.
9. [Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār]: *Iqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn*, and all the works of Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī.
10. [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālīm as-Saffārīnī]: *ad-Durrat al-Bahīyyah wa-Sharḥuhā Lawā 'ih al-Anwār al-Bahīyyah*, and all of as-Saffārīnī's works, and *Sharḥ as-Sa'd Li-Taṣrīf az-Zanjānī*.
11. [Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī]: *Tāj al-'Arūs Min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, *Iḥāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, and all works of az-Zabīdī, *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh 'alā 'l-'Abīd* and the works of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and *'Awārīf al-Ma'ārīf*.
12. ['Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī]: *Lubb al-Uṣūl wa-Sharḥu Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl*, *al-Qawā'id al-Kubrā*, and all the works of 'Izz ad-Dīn ibn 'Abd as-Salām, and *ar-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*.
13. [Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī]: *Hāshiyat al-Mullawī 'alā Sharḥ al-Makūdī*, and all works of al-Mullawī, *'Umdat al-Aḥkām* ('Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī), *Shifā al-Gharām bi-Akḥbār al-Balad al-Ḥaram*, *Mukhtaṣarātīhi as-Sab'ah*, *al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, *Mukhtaṣarātīhi ath-Thalātha* (Taḳī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī), *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah* (Tāj ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī).
14. ['Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydārūs]: *al-Fawākih al-Janiyyah Sharḥ Mutammimat al-Ajrūmiyyah*, *Sharḥ al-Qaṭr an-Nadā* ('Abd Allāh al-Fākihī al-Makkī), *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, *Minhāj al-'Abidīn*, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (al-Ghazālī and all of his works).
15. ['Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī]: *ash-Shāḥibiyyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah ar-Rā'iyyah* (Abū al-Qāsim ash-Shāḥibī), *Hāshiyah Sharḥ al-Fākihī 'Alā al-Qaṭr* (Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī).
16. [Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām al-Ḥusaynī al-Ahdal az-Zabīdī]: *al-Ḥikam*, *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr* (Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh as-Skandarī).
17. [Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. al-Khālīdī al-Jawharī]: *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (ash-Sha'rānī).

Appendix 3

List of books related to mysticism recorded in his *Sayr al-Sālikīn* recommended for three different levels of *sālikīn* (travellers on the mystical path).¹

1. Books recommended for *al-mubtadī* (the novice):

Most of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's books, such as:

1. *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah.*
2. *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn.*
3. *Kitāb al-Arba'in fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn.*
4. *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn.*
5. *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn.*
6. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmalat al-Maḥbūb.*
7. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's *ar-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah.*
8. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's *al-Ghunyah li-Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq 'Azza Wajalla.*
9. Shihāb ad-Dīn 'Umar as-Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif.*
10. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥabīb as-Suhrawardī's *Ādāb al-Murīdīn.*
11. Ibn 'Āṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī's *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ.*
12. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *al-Futūḥat al-Ilāhiyyah.*

Nine books by 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī:

13. *Madārij as-Sālikīn [ilā Rusūm Ṭarīqat al-Muttaqīn].*
14. *Sharḥ Waṣiyyat Sidī ash-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī.*
15. *Risālat al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah fī Bayān Ādāb al-'Ubūdiyyah.*
16. *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah fī Bayān 'Ahd al-Muḥammadiyyah.*
17. *Al-Baḥr al-Mawrūd fī al-Mawāthiq wa 'l-'Uḥūd.*
18. *Tanbīh al-Mughtarrīn.*
19. *Akhlāq al-Matbūliyyah.*
20. *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Bayān at-Taṣawwuf wa-huwā mā 'alayhi al-'Ulamā' al-'Āmilūn.*

21. *Al-Ma'm al-Kabîr wa 's-Saghîr*.
 22. Qâsim b. Şalâḥ ad-Dîn al-Khânî al-Ḥalabî's *as-Sayr wa 's-Suhûk ilâ Malik al-Mulûk*.
 23. Muḥammad b. 'Umar's *Tartîb Sulûk al-Mulûk*.
 24. 'Alî al-Marşafî's *Manhaj as-Sâlik ilâ Ashraf al-Masâlik: Mukhtaṣar ar-Risâlat al-Qushayriyyah*.²
 25. Aḥmad al-Qushâshî's *as-Simţ al-Majîd [fî Sha'n al-Bay'ah wa 'dh-Dhikr wa-Talqînihi wa-Salâsil Ahl 'l-Tawḥîd]*.
 26. Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî's *Îqāz al-Qawâbil li-'t-Taqarrub bi 'n-Nawâfil*.
- Three books by Sayyid 'Abd al-Qâdir b. Shaykh al-'Aydarûs:
27. *Ad-Durr ath-Thamîn fî Bayân al-Muḥimm min 'Ilm ad-Dîn*.
 28. *Al-Zahr al-Bâsim*.
 29. *Al-Futûḥât al-Qudsiyyah*.

Two books by Tâj ad-Dîn an-Naqshabandî al-Hindî al-Makkî:

30. *Jâmi' al-Afrâd*.
31. *Mawâ'iz an-Nafs*.

Five books by Sayyid 'Abd Allâh b. 'Alawî al-Ḥaddâd:

32. *An-Naṣā'ih ad-Dîniyyah wa 'l-Waṣāyâ al-Îmâniyyah*.
33. *Itḥâf as-Sâ'il*.
34. *Al-Fuṣûl al-'Ilmiyyah wa 'l-Uṣûl al-Ḥikamiyyah*.
35. *Risâlat al-Mu'âwanah wa 'l-Muṣāharah wa 'l-Mu'âzarah li 'r-Râghibîn min 'l-Mu'minîn fî Tarîq al-Âkhirah*.
36. *Ad-Da'wat at-Tâmmah wa 't-Tadhkirat al-'Âmmah*.

Six books by Muṣṭafâ b. Kamâl ad-Dîn al-Bakrî:

37. *Al-Waṣiyyat al-Jaliyyah li 's-Sâlikîn li-Tarîqat al-Khalwatiyyah*.
38. *Hadîyyat al-Aḥbâb fî-mâ li 'l-Khalwah min 'sh-Shurûṭ wa 'l-Âdâb*.
39. *Risâlat aṣ-Ṣuḥbah allatî Bayyana fîhâ al-Khidmah wa 'l-Maḥabbah*.
40. *Bulûgh al-Marâm fî Khalwat Ahl ash-Shâm*.
41. *Naẓm al-Qilâdah fî Kayfiyyat Ijlâs al-Murîd 'alâ 's-Sajjâdah*.

42. *Al-Manhal al-'Adhb fī Dhikr aṣ-Ṣalawāt wa 'l-Ṭarīq wa 'l-Awrād.*

Six books by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān:

43. *An-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muḥammadiyyah.*
 44. *'Unwān al-Jalwah fī Sha'n al-Khalwah.*
 45. *Igāthāt al-Lahfān.*
 46. *Kashf Asrār fī-mā Yata'allaq bi-hi Ism al-Qaḥḥār.*
 47. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī 'l-Tawajjuhāt ar-Rūḥiyyah li 'l-Ḥaḍrat al-Muḥammadiyyah.*
 48. *An-Naṣīḥāt al-'Alawiyyah li 's-Sādat al-Aḥdaliyyah.*

Two books by Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī:

49. *As-Sammāniyyah fī Sulūk al-Waḥdāniyyah.*
 50. *Al-Futūḥāt as-Sammāniyyah fī Ṭarīq al-Qādiriyyah.*
 51. Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghānī's *Tanbīh al-Ḥaqq fī Ḥayyiz al-Farq wa-Faṭḥ al-Muta'ālī fī Waqt Ighfālī* commentary of al-Ḥaddād's poem *'ilzam bāb Rabbik.*
 52. 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī's *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn.*

Three books by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself:

53. *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn.*
 54. *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādat Rabb al-'Ālamīn.*
 55. *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā.*

2. Books recommended for *al-mutawassīṭ* (the intermediate):

Three works by Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī:

56. *At-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr.*
 57. *Laṭā'if al-Minan.*
 58. *al-Ḥikam.*
 59. Ibn 'Abbād's commentary on *al-Ḥikam* entitled [*Ghayth al-Mawāhib al-'Aliyyah fī Sharḥ al-Ḥikam*].
 60. Aḥmad al-Marzūqī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam.*

61. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Allān al-Bakrī an-Naqshabandī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.
 62. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.
 63. Abū Madyan's *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*.
 64. Ibn 'Allān an-Naqshabandī's commentary on Abū Madyan's *al-Ḥikam*.
 65. Raslān ad-Dimashqī's [*Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*].³
 66. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān* a commentary on *Risālat al-Walī Raslān*.
 67. Its commentary by Ibn 'Allān.
 68. Its commentary by 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī entitled [*Khamrat al-Ḥān wa-Rammat al-Alḥān Sharḥ Risālat ash-Shaykh Raslān*].
 69. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*.
 70. 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydārūs's *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar wa 'l-lksīr al-Akbar*.
 71. 'Abd Allāh as-Suhrawardī's *al-Masābir*.
- Two works by 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī:
72. *Al-Jawāhir wa 'l-Yawāqūt*.
 73. *Al-Jawāhir wa 'd-Durar*.
 74. Muḥammad Abū al-Mawāhib ash-Shādhilī's *Risālat Qawānīn Ḥikam al-Ishrāq ilā 'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah bi-Jamī' al-Āfāq*.
 75. Ibn 'Allān an-Naqshabandī's *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Bint al-Mīlaq*.
 76. Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Saqqāf's *Mi'rāj al-Arwāḥ fī 'l-Manhaj al-Waḍḍāḥ*.
 77. Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*.
 78. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh Bā-Faḍl's *al-Fuṣūl at-Taḥiyyah* [sic] wa 'n-Nafaḥāt ar-Rūḥāniyyah.
 79. 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's *Miftāḥ al-Ma'iyyah fī 't-Ṭarīqat an-Naqshabandiyyah*, a commentary on Tāj ad-Dīn an-Naqshabandī's epistle.
 80. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *aḍ-Ḍhiyā' ash-Shamsī 'alā 'l-Faṭḥ al-Qudṣī*.
 81. Muḥammad as-Sammān's *Risālat Asrār al-'Ibādāt*.

Four books by Şiddīq al-Madanī:

82. *Murshid al-Tullāb ilā Sulūk Tarīq al-Aḥbāb.*
83. *Kashf al-Astār al-Wahhābiyyah 'an Jamāl al-'Ayniyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's *al-Qaṣīdat al-'Ayniyyah*.
84. Commentary on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *tawḥīd al-af'āl wa-tawḥīd al-asmā' wa-tawḥīd aṣ-ṣifāt wa-tawḥīd adh-dhāt*.
85. Commentary on as-Sammān's epistle on *tawassul*.
86. 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Qāsim, better known as al-'Ālim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī's *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān Sharḥ Risālat Asrār al-'Ibādāt*.

3. Books recommended for *al-muntahī* (the adepts):

Three books by Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī:

87. *Mawāqī' an-Nujūm [wa-Maḥālī] Ahillat al-Asrār wa 'l-'Ulūm*.
88. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah.*
89. *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*
90. Munlā 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*
91. 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*
92. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahāyimī (or al-Mahā'imī) al-Hindī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*
93. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī's *al-Iḥsān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifat al-Awākhir wa 'l-Awā'il.*

Three works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī:

94. *al-Maḍnū bi-hi 'alā Ghayr Ahlih.*
95. *Mishkāt al-Anwār.*
96. *Al-Maqṣad al-Asnā fī Ma'nā Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā.*
*. Several chapters on discussion of 'ilm al-ḥaqīqah in *Ḥiyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*: namely *kitāb aṣ-ṣabr*, *kitāb ash-shukr*, *kitāb al-maḥabbah*, *kitāb at-tawḥīd* and the beginning of *kitāb at-tawakkul*.⁴
97. Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī's *at-Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā 'n-Nabī SAW*.
98. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Iṭḥāf adh-Dhakī Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh.*

Two works by 'Abd al-Ghanī's an-Nābulusī:

99. *Nukhbat al-Mas'alah Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah.*
100. *Īdāḥ al-Maqṣūd min Ma'nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd.*

Two works by 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī:

101. *Lawāqih al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah Mukhtaṣar al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah.*
102. *Kashf al-Ḥijāb wa 'r-Rān 'an Wajh As'ilat al-Jān.*
103. Al-Qūnawī's *al-Futūḥāt.*
104. Aḥmad ash-Shinnāwī's *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'iq.*
105. 'Alī al-Mahāyimī's *Irādat ad-Daqā'iq fī Sharḥ Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'iq.*
*. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's *Sharḥ Hikam Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh.*⁵
106. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fī Ma'rifat aṣ-Ṣādir al-Awwal wa-Aḥdāth al-'Ālam bi 'l-Ikhtiyār.*

Two works by Sham ad-Dīn b. 'Abd Allāh as-Sumatrānī:

107. *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq.*
108. *Tanbīh aṭ-Ṭullāb fī Ma'rifat al-Malik al-Wahhāb.*
109. 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī's *Ta'yīd al-Bayān Ḥāshiyat Īdāḥ al-Bayān fī Taḥqīq Masā'il al-A'yān.*
110. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-'Ālamīn.*

Endnotes

- ¹ See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 176-83.
- ² Wrongly written as *Minhāj Masālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik.*
- ³ Listed as *Kitāb al-Ḥikam.* However, from the description of its commentary by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī and 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, it is clear this is Raslān ad-Dīmashqī's *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd.*
- ⁴ Except for these chapters, the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* is generally suitable for the muṭtadī as mentioned by al-Falimbānī earlier.
- ⁵ This text is also recommended earlier by al-Falimbānī for *mutawassīṭ.*